# CANDOUR

*The British Views - Letter*

*To defend national sovereignty against the menace of international finance*

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# *SALAZAR*

## THE FORGOTTEN LEADER

**by Rosine de Bounevialle**

Every man a king: that is the royal make up of every true nation. That is what stood on Senlac Hill in 1066 to defend their own from the mercenary marauders led by the Bastard of Normandy. Death and defeat stole forest, farm and field, the English realm became the spoil of the victors - and centuries of serfdom made most of the descendants of the dispossessed, at last, forget they had ever been a nation; but still, as long as one seed of nationhood remains, it can, often does - burst from even the most apparently infertile soil. Even today, this now Establishment-managed, multi-racial, imported stew, designated a province of the artificial Union, nicknamed "European", seethes around tiny allotments tended by English breeders determined to survive, rule - and if God wills - extend their patrimony.

**DR. ANTONIO D'OLIVEIRA SALAZAR**

We in England seem to be facing what appear to be almost insuperable odds since the majority of the natives are so sapped of the will to rebel that there is very little possibility of *any* change, and certainly not the kind that might give rise to a Mussolini, Franco or Salazar. Supposing such a coup were likely, Portugal would be my choice but it looks to be very much a case of each and everyman having to adopt the royal right for himself. Thus, the rebel must hold fast to any property (as opposed to money) he may have; acquire some if he has none and help to establish communities dedicated as far as may be to self-employment, barter trade, and educating "the little ones" in right living, i.e. Christianity, as established by Christ Jesus, the Son of God, Who ransomed us by His death and Resurrection, thus putting spanners into the works of the devil and all his pomps.

Although the societies we envisage may, and probably will be, at first, in miniature, it will help us to establish prototypes if we make ourselves familiar with the working of the political system of Portugal between 1926 to the late '60's as outlined by her then Prime Minister, Dr. Oliveira Salazar, in a speech delivered at the Ceremony of Swearing in the Executive Committee of the National Union, on 18 February, 1965. (The text of this speech was printed as a pamphlet entitled *ERRORS AND FAILURES in the POLITICS OF OUR TIME* by the Secretariado Nacional da Informacao in Lisbon,1965, as part of the *SALAZAR SAYS* series.)

It is so relevant to the "Troubles of our proud and 'political' dust" (with apologies for the misquote of A.E. Houseman) that we are going to quote from it rather extensively wherever it has important things to say on the political disease *not* presently peculiar to any particular nation but a menace to us all.

## ERRORS AND FAILURES IN THE POLITICS OF OUR TIME

When this writer was a junior schoolgirl in the early thirties, Portugal was the latest international laughing stock. The Portuguese were often derisively alluded to as 'the pork and greens". We were all too ill-informed both historically and politically to know (perhaps now we are less so) that this is the classic treatment administered by our worldly masters to anyone, people or nation who shows or show, signs of emerging from the slough of bewilderance so long spread over and through every medium of communication from the kindergarten to the post-graduate course.

The Portuguese were and are a great nation; six hundered years ago they were navigators, explorers, colonisers, missionary spreaders and defenders of the Christian faith and its pristine foundation, The Holy Catholic Church. This at a time when the rest of Europe's main occupation was the waging of wars that profited only the Jewish usurers who financed them.

They were an heroic people who often had to defend their nation against tremendous odds - especially in the

Iberian Peninsular - and still they won! So, it should now be obvious to any right minded nationalist that "'something had to be done' about that obstinate stumbling block to the would-be-rulers of a re-paganised world". Something *was* done. *Politics'* devitalising virus, the so-called Democracy, which had destroyed the peoples' peace in what had once been Christendom, was injected into Portugal via war and anarchy with their offspring of poverty and despair.

The Portuguese did not cease to be a nation but for a time they forgot that they were one. In the nineteenth century, becoming "sold" on "liberal" finance and the fashionable fetish: *Democracy*, their Governments allowed them to be "relieved" of lumps of their ages-long-developed overseas territories (all integral parts of Portugal) and the imperial marauders, including - shame to say Great Britain, laughed at them and added the stolen territories to their newly established "Empires" but the basic sterling qualities of the Portuguese nation were still there; they needed only the Revolution that ultimately brought them Salazar. Would that we English had had such a man, instead of James II who "meant well" but was so easily supplanted by the Money Power's minion, William of Orange and its lethal instrument, the so-called Bank of England, in whose thralldom what remains of our de-Christianised nation is today facing death by populace dilution.

*Our* only hope is to recover our sense of nationhood and the will to face all odds to uphold it - and to hell with Parties, Politics and Parliaments. If we cannot find a Salazar, at least we can adopt his principles founded in Faith, Hope and Charity in and for "we happy few; we band of brothers". So let us see how the Portuguese did it....

Firstly in his speech of February 18, 1965, Salazar asks the question, "What is a political system?", and answers his own question thus, "It is the definition of the organs of national sovereignty, their constitution, their share in the exercise of power and their collaboration in the general welfare of the community. It is also the enumeration of those rights that law is called upon to recognise as belonging to men. For us, it is also the expression of moral, social and economic principles that are considered to be important to give stability to our human society and to give national life its sense of purpose. This means that a political system can also be a policy and not merely a constitution. Our system is both.

We set out to give a new system to our country, ravaged as it was by anarchy. But many of our men were brought up on the political philosophy of the 19th century and have always considered us to be a government awaiting 'free' elections for a 'representative assembly' which would vote a 'new constitution' and through it guarantee our people 'every happiness'. So that the facts are these: traditional institutions having been abolished in Portugal, in our history between 1820 and 1926, through constitutions, the Constitutional Charter and the Appendices to the Charter, in the course of revolutions, coups d'Etat, periods of dictatorship or constitutional government, we can find no one political system that lasted as long as the forty years that our system will complete next year. Not one was as stable, as peaceful or as efficient as the present one. From this stems the absurdity of the provisional system lasting longer than the definitive, and the temporary outdoing in stability a system established for all eternity.

What most surprises me is that no one has studied the reason for this kind of apparent paradox. The life of human societies is subject to development and change, though more slowly than is generally assumed, when we consider their basic structures. What happens is that from time to time the surface is disturbed by waves that might better be termed fashions of opinion or its effervescent expression, fated to fall back and disappear from sight if they are not given the justification of political life itself, as has often been the case. So that the essential thing is to discern the master principles of national life which can be adapted without danger of snapping to the changing circumstances, and to define the policy which they are to follow: very often this is no more than the continued expression of a collective feeling. So that political systems take root and last to the extent that they reflect men and Nations, so different one from another, embody the hopes and desires of all and even make up for shortcomings in the people as a whole.

If experience has any value, we should here draw a conclusion. Force may bring about revolutions but alone it cannot maintain them without the support of the national conscience. The notion that the Portuguese Nation is nowadays anaesthetised by fear or by some kind of vitamin deficiency is incompatible with the enthusiasm and confidence with which it is fighting in three overseas territories. It would be more accurate to consider that, apart from authorities who are of necessity subject to slips and shortcomings in the direction of public affairs, we have found a formula that truly corresponds to the nature and attitude of the nation as a whole and which allows every member of the nation to live in peace and to make progress. It is only advisable that this formula should not be replaced so long as it shows itself to be efficient and is entrusted to one who, at the head of our Nation, is in a position to defend it and put it into practice.

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These observations should be enough to soothe the uneasy, who are excessively concerned at the elections for members of parliament which are also to be held this year.

As usual the National Union will put forward its lists of candidates; it is quite likely that opposition elements will also appeal to the popular suffrage, after some have made use of the election period to create a climate of subversion. But they will come across obstacles in this, for they represent the past, and an unhappy past experience is hardly likely to attract much public credit. Some may come forward in the guise of a radiant hope for the future, but even these have a 'past', even if I lived outside Portugal. And in our country communism is so anti-national and so anti-Christian that a Nation fighting to defend its territorial wholeness and moral integrity cannot support it, cannot endure it, cannot recognise it in its members.

There is not even any possibilty of the various opposition groups drawing up programmes for the immediate future, except by drawing on what we have already defined ourselves. A few days ago I had the opportunity of reading a document in which several democrats sought permission to celebrate the date of 31st of January in the city of Oporto, a celebration likely to be a noisy one. The document sharply criticised the administration and the Government and pointed out several problems in which the measures taken were either quite wrong or obviously ineffective. The critics did not take the trouble to substantiate their statements, and on each topic did no more than quote the relevant passages of speeches made in the National Assembly. We are all aware of the risks of quoting out of context, but I can take advantage of the fact for my benefit. Some years ago, Dr. Marcello Caetano, the

Presidency Minister, pointed out that there were more ideological differences among the members of the Government than were sometimes to be found among the representatives of different parties. This remark was true and the fact just mentioned, which confirms it, means two things. In the first place, provided unity on essential matters be safeguarded, we are not afraid of the various currents of thought expressed on national problems and on the possible solutions available for them. Secondly, in Portugal a member of parliament is free to debate and to vote, which does not happen in party regimes, where discipline must necessarily be considered to be the essential factor for the cohesion of pressure groups. So that those of the opposition who set out to oppose us cannot do much better.

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While I have confidence in the experience and knowledge of those most directly entrusted with political responsibility, I would nevertheless like to mention the circumstances, in the world at large and at home, in which that responsibilty will be discharged.

In spite of a veritable explosion in scientific discovery and consequent progress in many aspects of life today, we are living in an age when life and its problems excessively perturb the conscience of men and of nations. This is because the second world war shattered several states of balance which were at the base of social life and of relations between States; it is also due to the ideas accepted for the creation of future society. Thus the harm, comes from the facts and from the situations that have been brought about, and also from the errors in judgement and in thought that beset us and are nothing if not a poison which impairs action.

Hitler promised that his victory would bring peace for a thousand years; when the war was lost, peace for an indefinite period was promised by U.N.O., both by its ideals and by its machinery. But it is more and more difficult to find any spot on earth where there are no spreading wars or conflicts of one kind or another. Either we have not known how to establish and guarantee peace or we were wrong in thinking that peace is eternally possible among men and among States.

The progress and resources of technology have increased beyond compare products designed to meet men's needs; it might be possible to say that they would suffice for everybody to enjoy a modest standard of living. Yet poverty seems to grip mankind with increasing sharpness and there is indigence everywhere, even in the most advanced, wealthy countries. it would thus seem that either we have been led astray into the superfluous at the expense of the necessary or that our hearts are bemused by our desire to be generous and cannot find the formula to distribute the goods of this world which would free it from poverty, if the world can indeed be freed from poverty.

In stable countries with a long civilisation behind them, in those we might consider to be on their way to a healthy state of balance or in those which are now setting out as independent States, there is no end of democratic slogans, and appeals to the liberty and equality of men, to the sovereignty of the people, to the creative and justice-doing omnipotence of the vote and to the granting of this latter to the extreme limit of one vote per head. In the functioning of political institutions, however, we see at the same time the ageing of those principles which for our grandparents were dogmas and which, after prevailing for a century and a half, have bequeathed to us a society that is degraded, morally and politically. When we advise, we might almost say, compel all peoples to adopt those institutions and principles, either we are mistaken as to the absoluteness of their value or we are deceived as to the precarious nature of the solutions that have been adopted to put them into practice. That is, after thousands of years' history, man now concludes that he does not know how to govern himself and cannot do it without respecting the primacy of authority and justice. The very existence of these two limits freedom and equality; of the revolutionary trilogy of 1789 the only slogan which seemed possible to achieve in all its plenitude - fraternity - will be sacrificed to men's selfishness and the materialistic outlook on life.

Few can have failed to note that we are living in an age when politics is being controlled by economics. Even though we stand at only the beginning of its influence, we already see errors having far-reaching repercussions on the life of nations. General credence is given to an idea, that we believe mistaken, that all human societies can begin their economic development through industrialisation, and that the degree of industrialisation feasible is the same for all nations. Mistakes have been made in calculating the capital available for the development of the world. In some countries it has become necessary to withdraw from ambitious programmes of credits and subsidies in order not to compromise the economic and financial stability of the donor countries. It is a mistake to suppose that one's economy can be based, not on one's own work, not on one's own skill or on what one learns from others, but on other moral values which are constantly being invoked. The floodlight trained on material existence, on economic development and on vague improvements in living standards will leave in deep shadow all that is the spirit in man, and this will, it seems to me, lead to the materialistic age par excellence, the age of rich but soulless nations.

I have said that economics tends to control politics, but technology seeks to replace it entirely. Since politics is indispensable to the government of nations, it follows that this substitution can only take place if technology itself becomes politics. I wonder. The advance made in the application of science to labour has opened up vast prospects for organisation and output. This is good, given the facilities it creates and the greater productivity it obtains from work, and is an inestimable benefit when we consider the rise in population and the growing complexity of life. But I doubt whether it can go further than this. Above all it is a pernicious tendency to convert man into a cog in the technological wheel, for this is the end in view. Hitherto politics defined what was to be done, and technology the manner in which it should be done. But if technology, led by the ambition for economic development through increased production, can give its opinion on the relative priority of projects and the guidance of social life, then it is also competent to lay down a policy, and we are well aware what ideology inspires it in this direction. Man must be saved from the temptation of the abyss. He will continue to be for us the moral being par excellence, although he has material needs, which means that there is another world, that there must be another world, that there must be another world beyond the one that technology and economics can build up.

One of the most embarrassing phenomena in the world today is the crisis of international law, a code that some observe as the heritage of their civilisation, while others scorn

it, the better to live in their own style on the face of the earth. The widening of the international community should not have been carried out apart from the training of States to accept and obey the norms that, by general consent or express agreement, regulate relationships among nations. A contrary policy has been adopted by the principle of the universality of all the international organisations, as if registration of a new member were automatically a guarantee that the norms regulating them would be observed, which has been proved not to be the case. The United Nations Organisation has done its sinful best to tolerate abusive practices and even defend the so-called interests of many restless and ambitious countries against the legitimate rights of others. In spite of all this, the lack of balance in such situations is so great that we may see it as underlying the many conflicts spreading around the world. The notion that in times of crisis international law is for each State the law that best serves its own interests irrespective of the rights of others, has set the world to vast confusion and to the gravest dangers.

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In this brief reference to the facts and errors of our time which make it restless and unhappy, we cannot forget the most significant illustration - strife-ridden Africa.

Our Minister of Foreign Affairs has expounded our foreign policy on several occasions in the course of which the problems of Africa and the Portuguese Overseas Provinces have been given the prominence they deserve. I myself remember having explained at some length the relation between our overseas policy and both the evolution of Africa today and our constitutional law and politics' I will not repeat my remarks here, but will merely bring them up to date by a reference to the most recent facts.

In spite of the efforts of the Organisation for African Unity, the divisions and incompatibilities which set the African countries against one another are becoming increasingly evident. Several countries south of the Equator have revealed their lack of trust in the disinterestedness of the Arabs who seek to assume their leadership. On the other hand, the latter and some others seek to lead the African revolution., now, not merely towards the independence of colonial territories, but towards a policy that is supported, ideologically and economically, by the communist bloc. The Zanzibar revolution and the union with Tanganika have made a breach that will be difficult to fill up. Through this area particularly but also by the west coast, there enter the ideas, the men and the weapons aimed at the heart of Africa and designed to achieve its domination by the communists.

As at the present moment no African country enjoys a sufficient state of economic and social development to enable the implantation of communism, the support given by the communist bloc will mean chiefly a substitution of western positions, those held by Europe, and a peril for African independence, as far as Africa itself is concerned. The so-called African socialism can be no more in our time than the expropriation and in many cases the seizure of property, means of production and undertakings that the Europeans set up there. Black racism in so far as it is intolerant of the presence of the white man, may be regarded as the outburst of racial incompatibiliy, a seeking after redress or a retaliation, but for many agitators it is no less an economic operation, though a poorly reproductive one owing to the difficulty in organising labour and maintaining the level of production with local elements.

Those European Nations that gave up their political positions but believed that nevertheless they would be able to go on guiding the independent African peoples with their superior technical skill, the force of their capital either lent or freely given and the brilliance of their culture, have now to contend with difficult competitors foreign to the continent of Africa and who, quite apart from the political and economic implications, jeopardize the work undertaken there.

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Some weeks ago subversive elements coming from Tanganyika, either directly or through Malawi, broke into Mozambique to carry out acts of sabotage and to murder black Portuguese citizens, as had been announced. They are trying to repeat there the events of Guinea and Angola with the aid and collaboration of Tanganyika, although so far much less intently than in the other cases, since they found us prepared and alert. Tanganyika is a member State of the British Commonwealth and we are thus led to believe that Great Britain, not to mention the obligations of alliances, considers itself unable to say a word of moderation to a member of the Commonwealth that is behaving so contrary to the juridical and good conduct due to neighbour States. To make up for this, retaliation for attacks which are protected in the countries whence they proceed is beginning to be accepted by States as normal, perfectly justified behaviour.

This is the way of the present-day world; it is within this framework that we are called upon to defend our territories. It is a pity that the three and a half billion escudos spent yearly on this defence, besides many other hundreds of thousand spent for the same purpose by the bigger provinces, cannot be applied here and there to roads, ports, schools, hospitals, the improvement of the land, the setting up of industries or the working of mines. With such amounts one could increase the happiness of many people instead of disturbing and sacrificing their lives just to feed the vanity of ideologues or of adventurers who dreamt one day of empires that have proved after all to be outside the grasp of their ambitions.

Are not these sums spent on the overseas provinces perhaps ill spent? The question cannot be posed in these terms, but only in the light of the imperative of political duty and in relation to our national resources. Duty done does not have to be an entry in a book keeping ledger; our resources are those produced by our efforts which, if necessity demands that they be even more toilsome and prolonged, will be so without hesitation.

**This article will be concluded next issue.**

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## St. George Flags....

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## *CANDOUR* - PASS IT ON

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# BRITONS, *BEWARE!*

**by A.K. Chesterton. MC.**

(The following article is reproduced from a rare wartime edition of *THE PATRIOT*, dated 30 December, 1943. Founded by the 8th Duke of Northumberland, K.G., in February, 1922, and incorporating *THE BRITISH LION.)*

Federal Union, an idea sprung upon the world shortly before the war, provided for the federation of the fifteen democracies surrounding the Atlantic seaboard. Certain idealists hailed the scheme with joy, for there are those who have always been anxious to destroy national frontiers and mix mankind together in a vast cosmopolitan hugger-mugger. Certain realists, on the other hand, had quite a different reason for giving it their blessing. They saw in Federal Union the means of confirming and extending their international control. There was to be an international bank - a debt-creating agency for which they have always longed; and, no less important, there was to be an international army - and here was their debt-collecting agency to complete the picture and give a final gloss to their happiness. No wonder the scheme started off with heavy backing in man-power and money-power alike.

Even so, since Federal Union entailed the liquidation of British sovereignty and proposed in effect to hand over the destiny of the British people to the keeping of the United States in general and to Wall Street in particular, there was no reason for simple-minded patriots to suppose that it would be taken seriously in any responsible British quarter. Its reception. however, was sufficient to jolt the patriots out of their simple-mindedness for ever. Federal Union in Britain was almost everywhere acclaimed. The B.B.C. boosted it and refused all right to reply. *The Times* heartily approved of it. The *Observer* devoted column after column to its advocacy. The Left-wing papers were lyrical, and the absence of a single formidable protest revealed only too clearly the pre-1939 sickness of the British mind and soul.

When war came Federal Union advocates sought to cash-in on popular emotion by crying "Union Now." But something went wrong. Whether the obstruction lay in this country or across the Atlantic we shall probably never know. Sufficient to record that two years ago it became evident that Federal Union as such was dead; and there would be a pause, and that it would then emerge in some new and, no doubt, quite remarkably subtle form. That emergence has just taken place.

Some of us were startled the other day when Mr. Emanuel Shinwell began to say pleasant things about the British Empire, and we noted with particular interest that he had become so impressed by its potentialities for good that he even suggested the desirability of associating within its system the countries of Western Europe. Next day Sir Alfred Beit and Mr. de Rothschild arose in the House of Commons to say further kind things about the British Empire. Almost simultaneously General Smuts - that arch-federationist - let loose his broadsides. He, too, paid a noble tribute to the Empire, and he, too expressed Mr. Shinwell's hope that the countries of Western Europe would come within its orbit.

The sensible thing to do, of course, was to refer for an explanation of these utternances to an acknowledged champion of Federal Union, such as the *Observer*. That journal did, indeed, duly dot the "i's" and cross the "t's" of the new technique. Its political correspondent wrote as follows: -

"The British Empire is a British responsibility."

Reassuring! Grand! But there was no occasion for rejoicing in what this correspondent added:-

"A World Council for Undeveloped Areas, Regional Councils for the Caribbean, Africa, the Middle East, the Far East and the Pacific Islands.....Here is a practical framework....The regrouping of all Empires and of all backward areas to carry out a plan of progress under a common law, with common principles of government and with a common material equipment, is one critical instance of the way in which the world must go to be saved."

So that when all this has been done precious little of Britain's vaunted responsibility for her Empire will remain.

America, it will be observed, has been excluded from the new Utopia: in General Smuts' speech explicitly so, which is curious in the light of some recent pronouncements of his on the subject. Is that nation - as distinct from Wall Street - refusing to play? And are these but kites to demonstrate to her people that the wind is favourable for their playing? At present the question cannot be answered. But this much is certain: the new talk about the Empire and its association with Western Europe is our old enemy the Federal Union idea in disguise, and, moreover, it is a very clever disguise.

This time the attack on our national sovereignty will be pressed home by actual appeals to our patriotism and sense of Imperial responsibility. We are to be told that we have such a marvellous Empire system that we must allow ourselves because of it to become absorbed in a brand new international system, "under a common law." Whose law? The international bankers'? This thing is more dangerous than the League of Nations, and less honest than Federal Union, but the intention behind it is the same. That intention is, by easy stages, to destroy the Empire and to smash for ever the sovereign independence of the British people and of all the other peoples on the earth.

**BRITONS, *BEWARE!***

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## *SMOKESCREEN*

**Let us never forget that the Jew's Talmudic Money Power never allows its dupes to become aware of their next destination on the road to One World until they are seemingly irrevocably embroiled in the latest trap. So what is the current lethal pit from which our attention is being diverted by the suddenly ubiquitous interest exhibited by both media, *and* the latest newcomers to nationalist publications, in the existence and machinations of the "highfly" Bilderberger group that has been known to us ever since A.K. Chesterton put the patriotic spotlight on it in the sixties?**

**Has *no one* noticed that we are well down the motorway to One World without noticing any "turn off" that could take us to some less dangerous destination? "Europe" is nothing but a rest stop on the way.** ***R de B.***

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# Chestnuts from Chesterton.

## SECRECY AND PARTY FUNDS

Generally, instinctively, in the absence of any special reason, humanity hates the idea of anything being hidden - that is, it hates the idea of anything being successfully hidden. Hide-and-seek is a popular pastime; but it assumes the truth of the text, *"Seek and ye shall find"*. Ordinary mankind (gigantic and unconquerable in its power of joy) can get a great deal of pleasure out of a game called *"hide the thimble"*, but that is only because it is really a game of *"see the thimble"*. Suppose that at the end of such a game the thimble has not been found at all; suppose its place was unknown for ever: the result on the players would not be playful, it would be tragic. That thimble would hag-ride all their dreams. They would all die in asylums. The pleasure is all in the poignant moment of passing from not knowing to knowing. Mystery stories are very popular, especially when sold at sixpence; but that is because the author of a mystery story reveals. He is enjoyed not because he creates mystery, but because he destroys mystery. Nobody would have the courage to publish a detective story which left the problem exactly where it found it. That would arouse even the London public to revolution. No one dare publish a detective story that did not detect.

There are three broad classes of the special things in which human wisdom does permit privacy. The first is the case I have mentioned - that of hide-and-seek, or the police novel, in which it permits privacy only in order to explode and smash privacy. The author makes first a fastidious secret of how the Bishop was murdered, only in order that he may at last declare, as from a high tower, to the whole democracy the great glad news that he was murdered by the governess. In that case, ignorance is only valued because being ignorant is the best and purest preparation for receiving the horrible revelations of high life. Somewhat in the same way being an agnostic is the best and purest preparation for receiving the happy revelations of St. John.

This first sort of secrecy we may dismiss, for its whole ultimate object is not to keep the secret, but to tell it. Then there is a second and far more important class of things which humanity does agree to hide. They are so important that they cannot possibly be discussed here. But everyone will know the kind of things I mean. In connection with these, I wish to remark that though they are, in one sense, a secret, they are also always a *"sécret de Polichinelle"* (a secret of Punch - as in Punch and Judy). Upon sex and such matters we are in a human freemasonry; the freemasonry is disciplined, but the freemasonry is free. We are asked to be silent about these things, but we are not asked to be ignorant about them. On the contrary, the fundamental human argument is entirely the other way. It is the thing most common to humanity that is most veiled by humanity. It is exactly because we all know that it is there that we need not say that it is there.

Then there is a third class of things on which the best civilization does permit privacy, does resent all inquiry or explanation. This is in the case of things which need not be explained, because they cannot be explained, things too airy, instinctive, or intangible - caprices, sudden impulses, and the more innocent kind of prejudice. A man must not be asked why he is talkative or silent, for the simple reason that he does not know. A man is not asked (even in Germany) why he walks slow or quick, simply because he could not answer. A man must take his own road through a wood, and make his own use of a holiday. And the reason is this: not because he has a strong reason, but actually because he has a weak reason; because he has a slight and fleeting feeling about the matter which he could not explain to a policeman, which perhaps the very appearance of the policeman out of the bushes might destroy. He must act on the impulse, because the impulse is unimportant, and he may never have the same impulse again. If you like to put it so he must act on the impulse because the impulse is not worth a moment's thought. All these fancies men feel should be private; and even Fabians have never proposed to interfere with them.

Now, for the last fortnight the newspapers have been full of very varied comments upon the problem of the secrecy of certain parts of our political finance, and especially of the problem of the party funds. Some papers have failed entirely to understand what the quarrel is about. They have urged that Irish members and Labour members are also under the shadow, or, as some have said, even more under it. The ground of this frantic statement seems, when patiently considered, to be simply this: that Irish and Labour members receive money for what they do. All persons, as far as I know, on this earth receive money for what they do; the only difference is that some people do it like the Irish members. I cannot imagine that any human being could think any other human being capable of maintaining the proposition that men ought not to receive money. The simple point is that, as we know that some money is given rightly and some wrongly, an elementary commonsense leads us to look with indifference at the money that is given in the middle of Ludgate Circus, and to look with particular suspicion at the money which a man will not give unless he is shut up in a box or a bathing machine. In short, it is too silly to suppose that anybody could have ever discussed the desirability of funds. The only thing that even idiots could ever have discussed is the concealment of funds. Therefore, the whole question that we have to consider is whether the concealment of political money transactions, the purchase of peerages, the payment of election expenses, is a kind of concealment that falls under any of the three classes I have mentioned as those in which human custom and instinct does permit us to conceal. I have suggested three kinds of secrecy which are human and defensible. Can this institution be defended by means of any of them?

Now the question is whether this political secrecy is of any of the kinds that can be called legitimate. We have roughly divided legitimate secrets into three classes. First comes the secret that is only kept in order to be revealed, as in the detective stories; secondly, the secret which is kept because everybody knows it, as in sex; and third, the secret which is kept because it is too delicate and vague to be explained at all, as in the choice of a country walk. Do any of these broad human divisions cover such a case as that of secrecy of the political and party finances? It would be absurd, and even delightfully absurd, to pretend that any of

them did. It would be a wild and charming fancy to suggest that our politicians keep political secrets only that they may make political revelations. A modern Peer only pretends that he has earned his peerage in order that he may more dramatically declare, with a scream of scorn and joy, that he really bought it. The Baronet pretends that he deserved his title only in order to make more exquisite and startling the grand historical fact that he did not deserve it. Surely this sounds improbable. Surely, all our statesmen cannot be saving themselves up for the excitement of a death-bed repentance. The writer of detective tales makes a man a Duke solely in order to blast him with a charge of burglary. But surely the Prime Minister does not make a man a Duke solely in order to blast him with a charge of bribery. No; the detective tale theory of the secrecy of political funds must (with a sigh) be given up.

Neither can we say that the thing is explained by that second case of human secrecy which is so secret that it is hard to discuss it in public. A decency is preserved about certain primary human matters precisely because everyone knows all about them. But the decency touching contributions, purchases, and peerages is not kept up because most ordinary men know what is happening; it is kept up precisely because most ordinary men do not know what is happening. The ordinary curtain of decorum covers normal proceedings. But no one will say that being bribed is a normal proceeding.

And if we apply the third test to this problem of political secrecy, the case is even clearer and even more funny. Surely no one will say that the purchase of peerages and such things are kept secret because they are so light and impulsive and unimportant that they must be matters of individual fancy. A child sees a flower and for the first time feels inclined to pick it. But surely no one will say that a brewer sees a coronet and for the first time suddenly thinks that he would like to be a Peer. The child's impulse need not be explained to the police, for the simple reason that it could not be explained to anybody. But does anyone believe that the laborious political ambitions of modern commercial men ever have this airy and incommunicable character? A man lying on the beach may throw stones into the sea without any particular reason. But does anyone believe that the brewer throws bags of gold into the party funds without any particular reason? This theory of the secrecy of political money must also be regretfully abandoned; and with the two other possible excuses as well. This secrecy is one which cannot be justified as a sensational joke nor as a common human freemasonry, nor as an indescribable personal whim. Strangely enough, indeed, it violates all three conditions and classes at once. It is not hidden in order to be revealed: it is hidden in order to be hidden. It is not kept secret because it is a common secret of mankind, but because mankind must not get hold of it. And it is not kept secret because it is too unimportant to be told, but because it is much too important to bear telling. In short, the thing we have is the real and perhaps rare political phenomenon of an occult government. We have an exoteric and an esoteric doctrine. England is really ruled by priest-craft, but not by priests.

Today, it is probably true to say that the established political parties are ***universally*** detested - for their incompetence, their stupidity and their corruption. We might be forgiven for thinking that prior to their current, self-evident degeneration, they had been healthy bodies that somehow contributed to the welfare of the country. *In thinking so, you could not be further from the truth!* From the outset, they were associations of self-seeking and greed, and that 'tradition' has been passed down the generations to the present day.

If you need clear-cut proof, you can do no better than read Hilaire Belloc's devastating critique, *The Party System*, written at the beginning of this century. In reading this work, you will have the terrible feeling that you are reading a book that had been written in the aftermath of government 'sleaze' and 'fat cat' rip-offs - the best proof there is that the parties were ***always*** the same, ***always*** exploiting the people of England for their ends.

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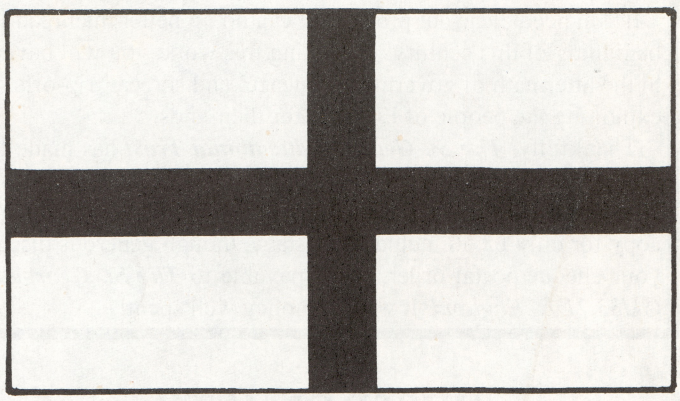

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